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ABSTRACT

Large percentages of preschool children in Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia live in poverty and receive no benefits from society's "safety nets." County estimates for unemployment and per capita income (1985-1987) indicate that economic conditions are most severe in central West Virginia, eastern Kentucky, and parts of Tennessee. In these areas, a third to a half of all preschoolers live in poverty. Nevertheless, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) benefited only 13% of children below 18 in West Virginia and Kentucky, and 6-7% of children in Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, compared to 12.6% nationally. Adjusted for inflation, benefits were drastically lower than in 1970. A family with no other income, receiving the maximum AFDC and Food Stamp benefit, remained below 75% of the poverty level in all five states and well below that point in Kentucky and Tennessee. Enrollments in the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) ranged from 17% of all children aged 0-4 in Virginia to 32% in Kentucky. Estimates of eligible preschoolers not, however, enrolled in WIC were 51-63% for the five states. Despite the demonstrated success of Head Start programs, only 16,533 Head Start spaces were available in the central Appalachian region; Head Start directors reported very long waiting lists. Data on preschool children are extremely difficult to locate in state bureaucracies, an impediment to both researchers and policymakers that warrants the creation of state clearinghouses on such information. This report contains and numerous maps and graphs. (SV)

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THE STATUS OF PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN AND THEIR SUPPORT SYSTEMS IN CENTRAL APPALACHIA

Appalachian Data Bank Report #7

December 1988

Prepared by

the Appalachian Center

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HIGHLIGHTS

1. On a state-wide basis, all five states in this study have large percentages of preschool children living in poverty. The large proportion of poor counties in the central coalfield area undoubtedly contain even higher percentages of children living in poverty. This means that in these areas, it is likely that between one-third to one-half of all preschoolers are living in poverty.

2. The high poverty rates in these areas and the relatively low rates for AFDC recipients raise questions about who is caring for these children financially. Since AFDC is the major income support for children living in poverty, children in families who do not receive AFDC may have little or no income support.

3. Children whose families depend on transfer payments to provide for them live in extreme poverty because of the very low levels of benefits in all five states. Furthermore, when these benefit levels are adjusted for inflation, the actual incomes are drastically lower than they were in 1970.

4. Due to extremely low incomes and a lack of variety in their diets, many Appalachian preschoolers may be at high risk for malnutrition. Only a fraction of preschoolers who are eligible for the WIC food supplement program are actually enrolled.

5. Headstart directors throughout the region report long waiting lists for very few spaces. The need for Headstart spaces seems to be even greater than the national figures which estimate that there are five eligible children for every currently available space. Directors also report that spaces are more likely to be filled by urban children than rural children, even though the region is predominantly rural.

6. Data on preschool children are extremely difficult to locate in the state bureaucracies. This is an impediment not only to researchers but also to policy makers seeking information on which to base programs for this segment of the population. This study recommends that each state create a clearinghouse specifically assigned to monitor information about children.

Introduction

In today's America, public policy is strongly influenced by special interest groups. Using both voting power and economic leverage, these groups use the political process to help set the nation's goals and budget priorities. However, one special interest group in America has neither vote nor economic power: America's children.

The traditional belief system of our society holds that children need no such power because parents and other family and community members protect and support them during their formative years. In recent years, however, our belief system has undergone substantial change. Today we speak casually of "single parent families" due either to divorce or unmarried parenthood. We readily accept two-wage-earner families as a middle class way of life for reasons of personal fulfillment or, more often, economic necessity. We also recognize the shrinking support systems available to children due either to smaller family size, migration away from the extended family, or economic hardship.

This report attempts to examine the status of preschool children and their support systems in the central Appalachian region. Most of this area has not yet reaped the benefits of the economic recovery of the 1980s, and many of its families must rely on the economic safety nets provided by the federal and state governments. How strong are these safety nets, and what is life like for children living in families supported by them?

State and Regional Economic Indicators

Poverty information on preschool children is gathered on a county level only during the nation-wide census which is taken at the beginning of each decade. The last such information was gathered in 1980, nearly nine years ago. Therefore, it is impossible to state exactly how many children are living in poverty in the region. We do know that the last census was taken during the final stages of the coal boom of the 1970s, a decade when the region enjoyed some measure of relative prosperity. We also know that, due to mechanization in coal mining and surplus oil supplies, unemployment in the region has increased steadily during the last nine years, creating what some call a recession and others call a depression in the central Appalachian coalfields.

Although we do not have exact measures of poverty in this population, we do have recent (1985-1987) county level estimates for unemployment and per capita income and can therefore compare how well the Appalachian counties are doing relative to counties outside the region as well as to the nation as a whole. From these data and from state-wide poverty rates (gathered using survey techniques rather than actual counts) inferences can be made about the relative economic status of children in the central

Appalachian region. In this report, unemployment rates and per capita income estimates were recorded for each county in the five state area that contains the central Appalachian region (Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia). The counties were then rank-ordered on a regional basis and compared for the entire five state area. For example, the 470 counties in the five state area were rank-ordered from 1 to 470, with 1 being the county with the lowest unemployment and 470 being the county with the highest unemployment. The same method was used to rank the counties by per capita income.

The resulting lists were then divided into quartiles, and the data were analyzed to determine in which quartile the Appalachian counties were more likely to fall. This same method was used to rank Appalachian and non-Appalachian counties within each state. The information has been put into map form (see figures 1 through 4 in the Appendix), and the results indicate considerable variability both throughout the region and within each state.

Regionally, economic conditions in the central coalfields of West Virginia, eastern Kentucky, and parts of Tennessee are the most severe (see figures 1 and 2). Virginia and especially North Carolina seem to be doing relatively well when compared to the other states in the study. North Carolina's Appalachian counties actually have an average unemployment rate that is lower than the national average and Virginia's is only a point or so above national figures.

On a state-by-state basis, West Virginia, in which all counties are designated Appalachian, seems to be in the most economic distress with respect to per capita income. West Virginia's per capita income is only $7,540, about half of the national average of $13,918. West Virginia's unemployment rate, while high at 9.5%, is not as high as one might expect with such a low per capita income. This may indicate that many West Virginians are working either at minimum wage or part-time jobs. (See figures 5 and 6 in the Appendix for unemployment and per capita income estimates for the Appalachian portions of each state.)

Kentucky's Appalachian counties are also experiencing economic stress with unemployment rates of 13.2%, more than twice the national average, and per capita income levels of $8,109, only slightly higher than West Virginia's. Tennessee's Appalachian counties fall in the middle on both measures, neither highest nor lowest in the five state area.

When economic indicators are compared within states (figures 3 and 4), both Kentucky and Virginia stand out as having Appalachian areas that are significantly different from the balance of the state. In Kentucky, the further east a county is on the state map, the more likely it is to have high unemployment and low per capita income. The opposite is true in Virginia where rates become worse as one moves west. In North Carolina, the western counties are actually better off with respect to these two

economic indicators than many of the counties in the eastern portion of the state.

These data are relevant to preschool children because children are an at-risk group with respect to poverty. Children of this age have no way of pulling themselves up by their bootstraps or even securing the basic necessities of life without support from their parents and/or communities. Thus the economic status of each county becomes highly relevant to the economic status of children living in that county.

In order to understand the extent of the poverty experienced by preschool children in central Appalachia, readers should compare the maps in figures 3 and 4 with the state-wide figures for the percentage of preschool children living in poverty in each state (see figure 7). Once again using Kentucky as an example, Figure 7 shows that 29.2% of children 0-4 years old live in poverty in Kentucky. When that figure is compared to the very large cluster of counties with high unemployment and low per capita income, poverty among children would almost certainly be higher in the eastern portion of the state.

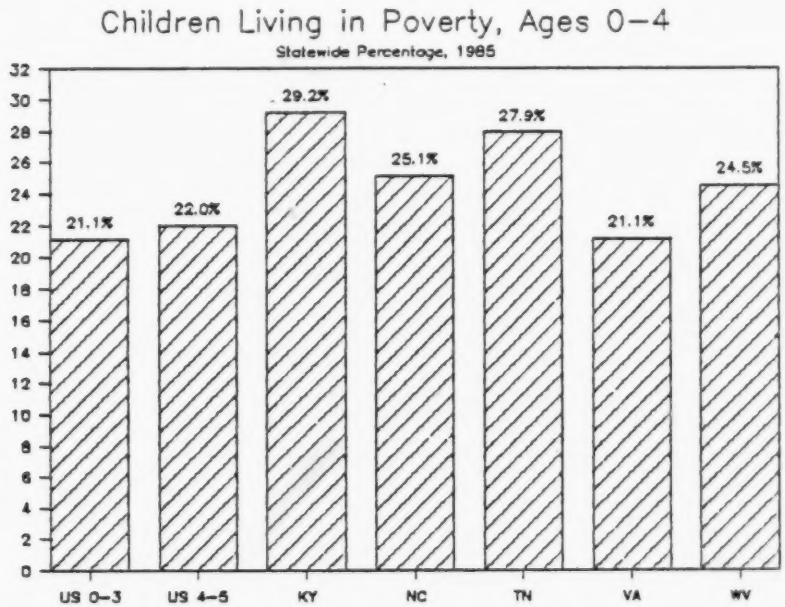


Figure 7: Percentages of preschool children living below the federal poverty level in each state in the study. U.S. figures are given for two age groups, 0-3 and 4-5. From A Call For Action to make Our Nation Safe for Children: A Briefing Book on the Status of American Children in 1988. Published by the Children's Defense Fund. Figures are state-wide and should be compared to Figures 3 and 4 for inferences about Appalachian counties.

Making Ends Meet on Government Support Programs

Children are more likely than any other group to live below the federal poverty level.[1] The Federal poverty level delineates how much income is needed to provide the absolute necessities of life. In 1987, the federal poverty level for a family of three was $9,300. In 1979, nearly ten million children lived below the federal poverty level in the United States. In 1986, that number had risen to over 12 million.[2] Child poverty is a spreading problem, but more importantly, it is a rapidly deepening one.

Nationally, 12.6% of children under 18 receive government benefits known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).[3] With a few exceptions, AFDC benefits are given to families with children in which the principal wage earner is either absent or physically unable to work. In Central Appalachia, despite the extreme poverty in much of the region, the percentage of children receiving AFDC is at or below the national level. In West Virginia and Kentucky, 13% of children below 18 receive AFDC. In Virginia and North Carolina the figure is only 6% and in Tennessee only 7%. The relatively low numbers of children receiving AFDC may be an indication of the strong family ties that are part of the Appalachian culture, a culture that continues to value marriage and stable family relationships.

The high value placed on marriage and family is shown as well in the fact that relatively few babies are born out of wedlock. The teen-age fertility rate in central Appalachia is among the highest in the nation--one and one-half to two times the national average. However, the percentage of babies born to unwed mothers is among the lowest. In other words, these babies are being born into two parent families. This is the good news. However, in most of these cases, not only the mother but the father as well are both very young. Nationwide, inflation-adjusted income for families headed by persons under twenty-five years of age fell by 25% between 1973 and 1986.[4] Since most Appalachian pre-schoolers live in these very young families, they are often doubly handicapped by living in a region with an ailing economy and by being born to parents who are unable to earn a decent living even if one of them works full time.

In 1979, three and one-half million American children lived in families whose incomes were less than half the national poverty level. In 1985, that number had grown to five million.[5] As Table I illustrates, Appalachian children whose families must rely solely on AFDC payments live in families whose income is not only below the federal poverty line but significantly below it. Even when families qualify for the maximum benefit in both AFDC and Food stamps (a status which is more difficult to obtain than is generally believed), income remains below 75% of the poverty level in all five states and well below that point in Kentucky and

Tennessee. For example, a family living on AFDC and Food stamps in Tennessee, receives benefits amounting to only 50% of the federal poverty line.

TABLE I

BENEFIT INFORMATION FOR A SINGLE PARENT WITH TWO CHILDREN AND NO INCOME LIVING IN THE CENTRAL APPALACHIAN REGION*

	KY	NC	TN	VA	WV
Maximum cash benefit:					
Per month	$197	$254	$159	$354	$249
Per year	$2,364	$3,108	$1,908	$4,248	$2,988
Percent poverty line, 1987	26.1	34.3	21.0	46.8	32.9
Rank among states	46	42	49	27	43
Maximum food stamp benefit fro AFDC maximum recipient	$228	$228	$228	$202**	$228
Percent poverty with AFDC	56.0	64.4	51.2	73.5	63.1
1987 benefit compared to 1970 benefit indexed to cost of living, percent	-54.9	-38.7	-48.5	-46.2	-22.6
AFDC - emergency	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
AFDC - up	No	Yes	No	No***	Yes

*Figures compiled by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, HOLES IN THE SAFETY NETS: POVERTY PROGRAMS AND POLICIES IN THE SOUTH, April, 1988.

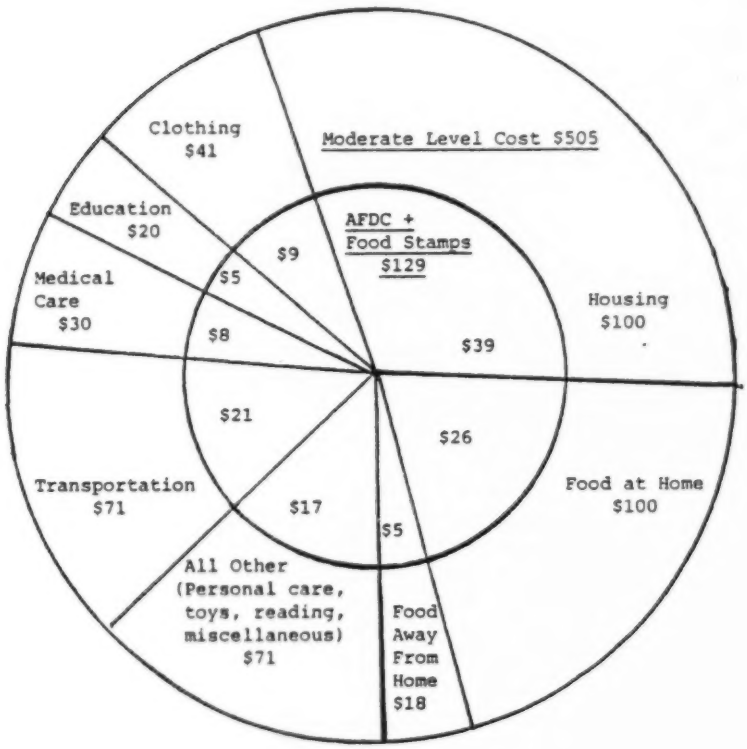
**Proportion of AFDC families receiving food stamps much lower than in any other state.

***Demonstration program, July 1988.

Figure 8, which compares the USDA estimated monthly costs for raising a child with the pro rata amount available for an Appalachian child living on public assistance, illustrates the quality of life such a child might experience.

FIGURE 8

AVERAGE MONTHLY COSTS OF RAISING A CHILD AT A MODERATE LEVEL, COMPARED WITH A CHILD'S SHARE OF AFDC PLUS MAXIMUM FOOD STAMP BENEFITS IN TENNESSEE



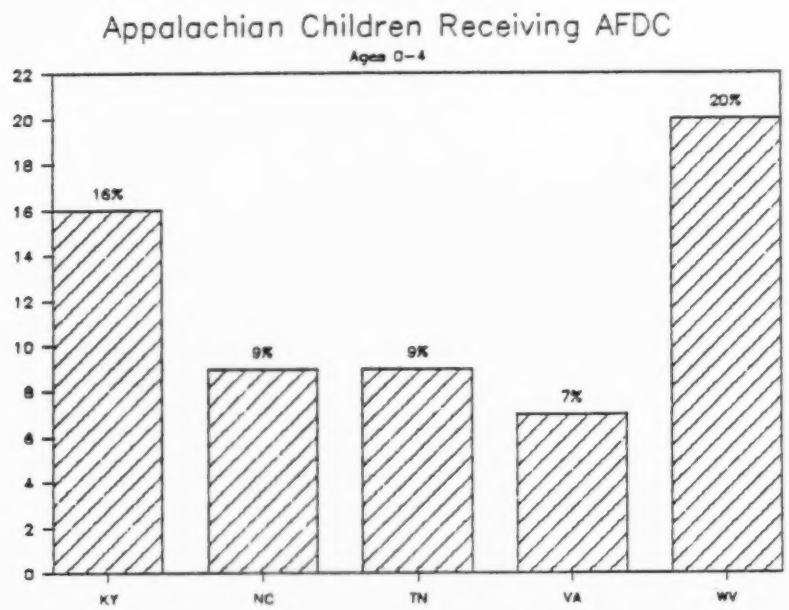
The outer circle shows what the U.S. Department of Agriculture computes to be the average monthly cost for a moderate level family in 1986 to raise a 12 year old in the urban south. The inner circle gives the child's pro rata share ($129) of an AFDC grant plus maximum food stamp benefits for a family of three living in Tennessee in 1987.

Furthermore, states are not required to tie AFDC benefits to inflation. Therefore, when 1987 benefit levels are compared to those in 1970 and indexed to cost of living increases during that period, the decline in real benefits is startling (see Table I). When adjusted for inflation, Kentucky's AFDC benefit is 54.9% less than it was in 1970.

AFDC benefits have historically been given to families in which only one parent was in the home. In other words, if both parents were present in the home and either one were able to work, benefits were denied to that family even if no work were available. In Appalachia where most young parents marry, this often created what might be called the "back door syndrome". That is, the unemployed father was present in the home but would leave by the back door as the case worker came in the front so that his family could receive benefits while he was unemployed.

Recently, the federal government has allowed states to extend benefits to two-parent households when the wage earner is unemployed. In states where this program has been implemented, it is known as AFDC-up. In West Virginia where this program is most widespread, social workers report that while the program may have added some families to the welfare roles, its major impact has been to increase family stability. Among the five states, only West Virginia and North Carolina have AFDC-up programs. (See figure 9 for the percentage of Appalachian preschoolers receiving AFDC payments.)

FIGURE 9



Many states maintain emergency funds for families which find themselves temporarily unable to provide the necessities of life for their children. Of the five states, only Virginia and West Virginia provide such emergency funds.

The new federal welfare legislation enacted in October of this year (known as the "Family Support Act of 1988") mandates basic changes in the welfare system including mandatory job training and increased enforcement of child support laws.[6] It's effects on Appalachia are yet to be seen but may indeed be sweeping.

Food Assistance

In 1984, President Reagan's Task Force on Hunger declared that hunger is now "a significant problem throughout our nation."[7]

In 1985, the Physicians Task Force on Hunger, coordinated through the Harvard University School of Public Health, estimated that millions of Americans experience hunger at some point each month and that malnutrition affects almost 500,000 American children.[8]

There is no way to know exactly how many Appalachian children are hungry and/or malnourished. The United States Department of Agriculture conducts nutritional surveys only every ten to fifteen years and then does not release the results at a county level since sample sizes are so small in some counties that confidentiality might be compromised. However, it is obvious that families living at half the federal poverty level would be hard pressed to provide adequate food for growing children even if they had the nutritional knowledge to do so.

Food stamp benefit levels are based on the USDA's "thrifty food plan" even though the USDA's own studies show that five out of six families are unable to obtain adequate nutrition on that amount. Between 1982 and 1985, federal funding for food stamp programs was cut by 6.8 billion dollars.[9] This was the same period in which Appalachian families were beginning to feel the full effects of the recession in the coalfields. Furthermore, the commodity program which was distributing surplus cheese, dry milk, honey and rice to needy families was severely limited or eliminated throughout the region this year.

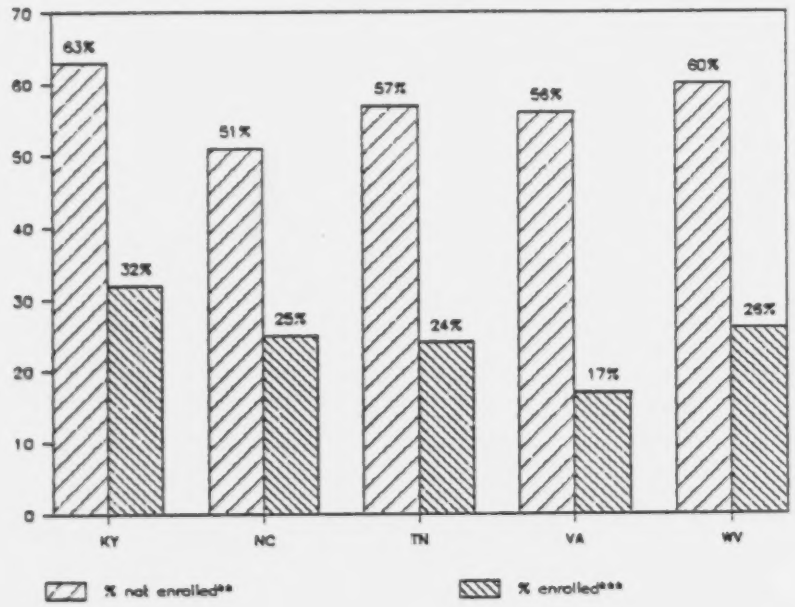
Finally, many poor rural Appalachian families must do their grocery shopping at local convenience stores because supermarkets are too far away for people with limited transportation options. This not only makes their total food costs higher but may also put them at nutritional risk simply because of the difficulty in procuring a balanced diet from stores with a very limited range of food choices.

The WIC Program

The Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children, known as the WIC program, provides food and food supplements to pregnant and nursing mothers, infants, and children ages one to four. This program has been shown repeatedly to have a major impact on such problems as low birthweight births, late fetal deaths, and premature births. It has also been shown to increase the proportion of poor women seeking prenatal care and to increase head circumference of infants whose mothers were enrolled in the program. Not only are these benefits valuable in a moral

FIGURE 10

WIC Programs, Ages 0–4*



*Percent of Appalachian children, ages 0-4, enrolled in WIC programs compared to statewide figures for percentage of eligible recipients who do not receive benefits.

**Percent of eligible recipients who do not receive benefits statewide in each state. (Figures from "The Health of American Children: Maternal and Child Health Data Book, 1988," The Children's Defense Fund.)

***Percent of Appalachian children, ages 0-4, enrolled in WIC programs.

sense but from an economic sense as well since the program reduces many of the physical and mental problems which can be very costly in later years. One dollar spent in the WIC program has been shown to save as much as three dollars in short term hospital costs for sick babies and children. [10]

Because children living below the poverty level are eligible for WIC no matter how many wage earners are in the home, WIC enrollments are a better indicator of poverty than AFDC enrollments in the Appalachian region even though only about half of all children eligible for WIC actually receive it. Large proportions of children ages 0-4 are enrolled in WIC Programs in the central Appalachian region (see figure 10). For example, 27% of children 0-4 in West Virginia are enrolled in WIC programs, and yet it is estimated that 59.1% of women, infants and children in West Virginia who are eligible for WIC do not receive it. [11]

Many unanswered questions remain about food assistance and hunger among children in the Appalachian region. For example, what role does the limited transportation system of the mountains play in the ability of mountain families to obtain food? Do mountain families have enough information about proper nutrition to provide adequate food for growing children even when there is enough money to provide that food? And finally, are the traditional mountain activities of hunting, fishing, and gardening providing any significant amount of food for the region's children?

Preschool Education

In 1985, 67% of all four-year-olds living in families with incomes of $35,000 or more were enrolled in preschool. In contrast, in families with less than $10,000 in annual income, less than 33% of all four-year-olds were enrolled in preschool. Most of that 33% were enrolled in Headstart programs. [12]

In her 1988 book, Within Our Reach, which reviews numerous studies of programs throughout the nation which have proven to be effective in addressing the needs of the nation's children, Lizbeth Schorr indicates that study after study has shown the federal Headstart Program to be one of the most effective federal programs ever devised. [13] Headstart is a comprehensive program for disadvantaged preschoolers which provides not only educational experiences which help build basic skills needed to succeed in school, but also provides health care in the form of nutritional support and medical screenings and immunizations. Headstart programs also emphasize strong parental involvement, and, as a consequence, often build parenting skills and self-esteem as well.

Headstart programs have been shown to dramatically increase school success and eventual employability. It is estimated that $1.00 invested in Headstart will eventually return $4.75 in lower costs

associated with special education, public assistance and reduced crime rates. However, nationally, Headstart programs serve fewer than one in five children who are eligible to enroll.[14]

What about Headstart programs in the central Appalachian region? Official information on Headstart programs is sketchy at best. The government keeps records on how many programs are in place and how many spaces are available in each program, but not on the number of children who are actually enrolled, what percentage of eligible children are being served, or on the nature of the children who actually are enrolled. Only 16,533 Headstart spaces are available in the entire central Appalachian region.

In order to obtain a sampling of this information, the authors of this report called over 50 Headstart directors in all five states. The information obtained from this informal survey confirmed the national statistics. Throughout the region, directors reported that they had waiting lists much longer than they could ever hope to fill. Those directors who reported short lists or no lists at all emphasized that they did not have waiting lists because they were so sure of filling their programs by word-of-mouth advertising that they no longer spent valuable time trying to recruit children whom they could not hope to serve.

Many directors who reported that they no longer actively sought students expressed regret that this tended to exclude children in more isolated areas who often reaped the most benefits from the program. All directors reported that urban families were more likely to seek places for their children in the programs and felt that this was usually due to transportation problems or lack of information about the program in more rural areas. A number of directors also reported that rural parents who did enroll their children were more likely than urban parents to become actively involved in the program themselves. Some directors complained that urban parents were more likely to view the program as a babysitting service. In spite of these problems, it seems that the strengths of the Headstart Program (increased school performance and eventual employability) are very valuable commodities in an area of high dropout rates and low employment, and that efforts should be made to insure that there are enough programs to serve all eligible children in the region.

Daycare

In 1986, 54% of all American mothers with preschool children were working full time outside the home. Another 11% were seeking full time employment.[15] Daycare arrangements for the children of these women were a hodgepodge which included, among other things, group home care, care by close family members, and children (even very young children) caring for themselves.

In four of the five states studied for this report, one-half of all mothers with preschool children work outside the home. (In

West Virginia, only 32% of mothers with preschool children work at outside jobs.) These figures are state-wide figures and caution should be used in interpreting them for Appalachian counties since unemployment rates are so high in these counties. The question which arises is whether the same percentage of mothers in the Appalachian counties are working outside the home since jobs are often scarce in their communities.

Even if we assume that fewer than 50% of mothers of preschoolers are working outside the home in most Appalachian counties (as is true in West Virginia), it still appears that the number of licensed daycare spaces are inadequate to meet the needs of working mothers in the Appalachian portions of Virginia and Kentucky and throughout West Virginia (see Table 2). Both North Carolina and Tennessee appear from these figures to be in a better situation with respect to licensed daycare spaces.

TABLE II

LICENSED DAYCARE AVAILABILITY IN THE CENTRAL APPALACHIAN REGION

	KY	NC	TN	VA	WV
Licensed daycare spaces	6,898	20,254	39,134	3,864	8,920
Children 0-4 per space in daycare	11.6	3.3	3.8	10.2	14.5
Counties with no daycare	7	0	NA	8	15

The figures listed on Table 2 represent only daycare facilities which are licensed by the state, and each state has different rules governing the licensing of such centers. In many states,

daycare which is provided in private homes either by relatives or by those who provide child care for a fee are not regulated by the state and thus would not appear as available spaces.

These in-home facilities comprise not only a hidden factor in the provision of daycare but a hidden factor in the local economy as well. Daycare provision as a part of the economy is in something of a catch-22 situation. If no jobs are available for mothers of small children, then there is no need for daycare. On the other hand, if there are no daycare facilities (or kindly relatives) available, women are not able to take work outside the home even if it is available.

Providing daycare is not a lucrative business. The average daycare worker in the U.S. makes less per hour than the average parking lot attendant or animal caretaker.[16] Furthermore, providing a clean, safe, enriching environment for children for less than $50 per week per child is very difficult. Nevertheless, the vast majority of jobs currently available in Appalachia (especially for women) are at or near the minimum-wage level. This means that the $50 per week average cost of child care is out of reach of the working poor.

State agencies contacted about daycare statistics report that much of the childcare provided is non-licensed and is often provided by family members and neighbors on an informal basis. As one agency employee stated, "Such informal care is often ideal. A child left with a loving grandmother or neighbor usually receives excellent care. On the other hand, unlicensed care can and has resulted in the warehousing of children or even to some of the horror stories you read about."

The new welfare reform act mandates not only job training for welfare recipients but also the provision of daycare for parents who participate in that job training or who wish to accept a job. The act also requires that this daycare meet all applicable standards under state and local law. Obviously, this legislation has very broad implications for daycare throughout the mountain areas where children living in AFDC families represent a major part of the child population. How much additional daycare will be needed and how it will be provided are issues which will require the attention of policy makers in the next few months.

Summary

Great care should be taken in interpreting the economic data in this report in any but the most general terms. The states use various methodologies to gather and interpret the data, and the statistics, especially unemployment rates which may vary greatly from year to year. Nevertheless, the data are generally consistent with the situation as reported by service providers in

all five states and thus useful in giving a broad overview of the current economic picture and its effects on children.

Data on those programs that serve children are more reliable even though the data were extremely difficult to gather. There is little or no uniformity in the agencies that gather data on children's issues and programs. Not only is there great variation between states, but it was often necessary to make as many as a dozen phone calls to one state trying to find information on a particular program.

Obviously, state governments do not exist for the convenience of academic researchers. But the difficulty in locating such information makes a statement about the priority that particular states put on public policy that affects children since public policy is difficult to formulate without adequate information. Some mechanism, such as a clearinghouse, which would insure that the problems facing children are recognized and addressed, is badly needed, especially in those states where children are at very high risk.

By any measure, it is evident that a large proportion of America's children have not reaped the benefits of the economic recovery of the 1980s. One out of five American children lives in poverty, and in the many pockets of economic distress that dot our nation, the percentage of children living below the poverty line is even greater. The central coalfields of Appalachia is such an area, and as many as one half of the children in some mountain counties may be living in poverty.

Although mountain families continue to be more stable than families in some other parts of the country, they are not strong enough to singlehandedly provide safety nets for such large numbers of children, especially in difficult economic times. Furthermore, the safety nets provided by society are not reaching all mountain children, and those who are reached are not well supported. Benefits paid through Aid to Families with Dependent Children in the five central Appalachian states are extremely low and even when combined with food stamps raise families only to a fraction of the federal poverty level.

A number of federal programs that serve preschool children have proven to be extremely successful in preventing the long term damage that is often inflicted by extreme poverty. While programs such as WIC and Headstart are designed to head off the very problems that so often surface in mountain youth, they are reaching only a fraction of the mountain children who need them.

In the strong family tradition that has always been a part of Appalachia, children are an essential thread in the social fabric. Now those children are at risk, especially in the central coalfields, not only because so many of them live in poverty, but also because of the national perception that the economy is booming and all is well. The danger is that this perception may

lull the nation as a whole and the states in particular into complacency about poor children and the programs that serve them, and thus drastically weaken the safety nets that are currently needed in central Appalachia.

[17]Unemployment information was obtained through the following sources:
Kentucky: UK Center for Business and Economic Research, figures for 1987.
North Carolina: Employment Security Commission of North Carolina, figures for 1987.
Tennessee: Tennessee Department for Employment Security, figures for 1986.
Virginia: Virginia Employment Commission, figures for June 1988.
West Virginia: West Virginia Department of Employment Security, figures for 1987.

[18]Per capita income information was obtained through the following sources:
Kentucky: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, figures for 1986.
North Carolina: Employment Security Commission of North Carolina, figures for 1986.
Tennessee: Survey of Current Business, April, 1988, figures for 1986.
Virginia: Virginia Bureau of Economic Analysis, figures for 1986.
West Virginia: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Local Population Estimate, figures for 1985.

****A few remarks about the Appalachian portion of North Carolina are in order. Unemployment rates in this area are so much lower than in the surrounding states that the authors felt compelled to investigate both the accuracy of the rates and the reasons for the difference. Mr. Bob Shepherd, Director of the Land of Sky Area Development District in Asheville, confirmed that employment in the area was at an all-time high. He attributed this economic resurgence to the extremely large number of manufacturing jobs in the area. Mr. Shepherd also said that North Carolina had a larger percentage of women working outside the home than any other state which has led to a shortage of daycare options in the area.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, U.S. House of Representatives, U.S. Children and Their Families: Current Conditions and Recent Trends, (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987), p. 32.

[2]A Children's Defense Budget: FY 1989 (Washington, DC: The Children's Defense Fund, 1988), p. 82.

[3]U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Youth Indicators, 1988: Trends in Well-Being of American Youth (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1988), p. 32.

[4]A Children's Defense Budget: FY 1989, p. 85.

[5]Ibid., p. 82.

[6]1988 Congressional Quarterly, "Congress Approves Overhaul of Welfare System" (October 8, 1988), pp. 2825-2832.

[7]A Children's Defense Budget: FY 1989, p. 39.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid., p. 40.

[10]Ibid., p. xxxi.

[11]A Call for Action to Make our Nation Safe for Children (Washington, DC: The Children's Defense Fund, 1988), p. 21.

[12]A Children's Defense Budget: FY 1989, p. 191.

[13]Schoor, Lizbeth, Within Our Reach: Breaking the Cycle of Disadvantage (New York: Anchor Press, 1988), pp. 184-192.

[14]A Children's Defense Budget: FY 1989, p. xxxi.

[15]Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, p. 20.

[16]A Children's Defense Budget: FY 1989, p. 178.

APPENDICES

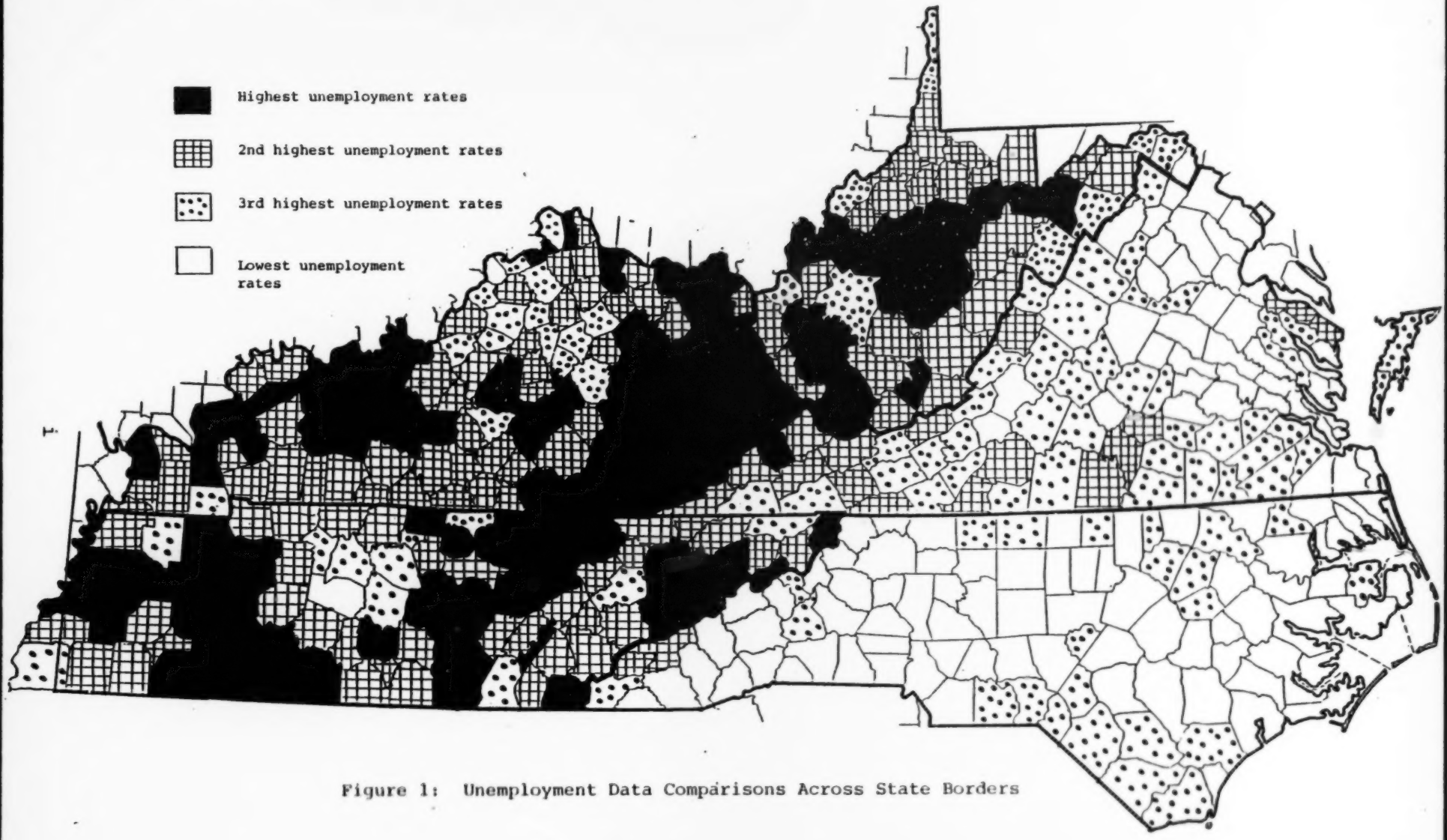


Figure 1: Unemployment Data Comparisons Across State Borders

Source: See footnote 17.

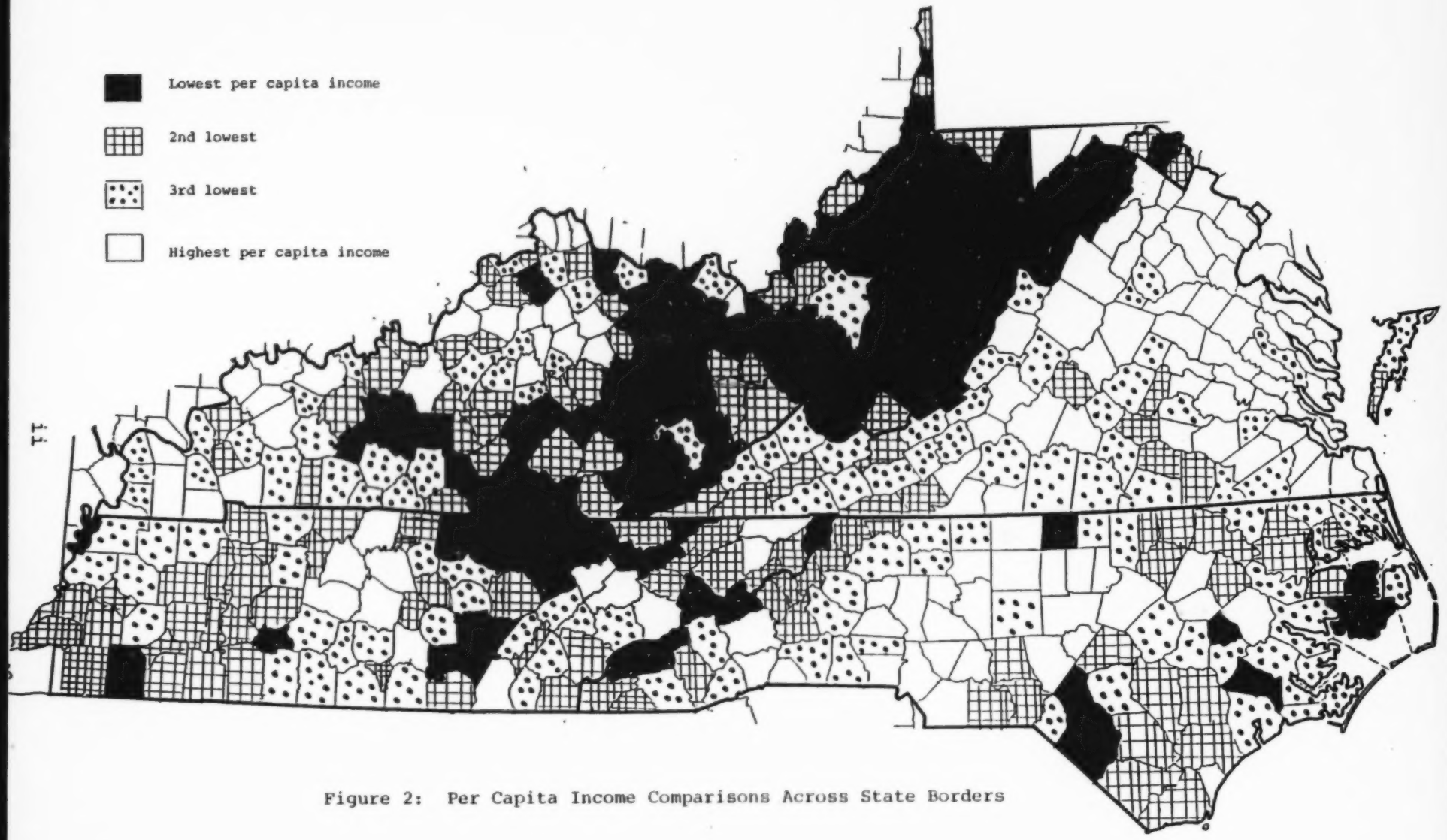


Figure 2: Per Capita Income Comparisons Across State Borders

Source: See footnote 18.

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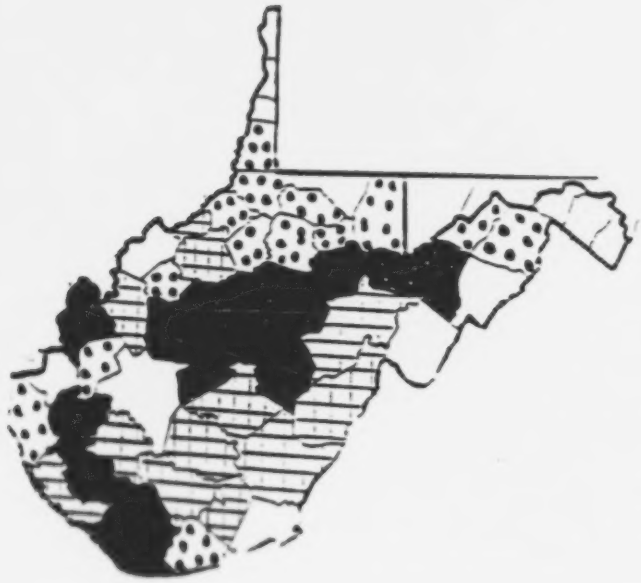


NORTH CAROLINA

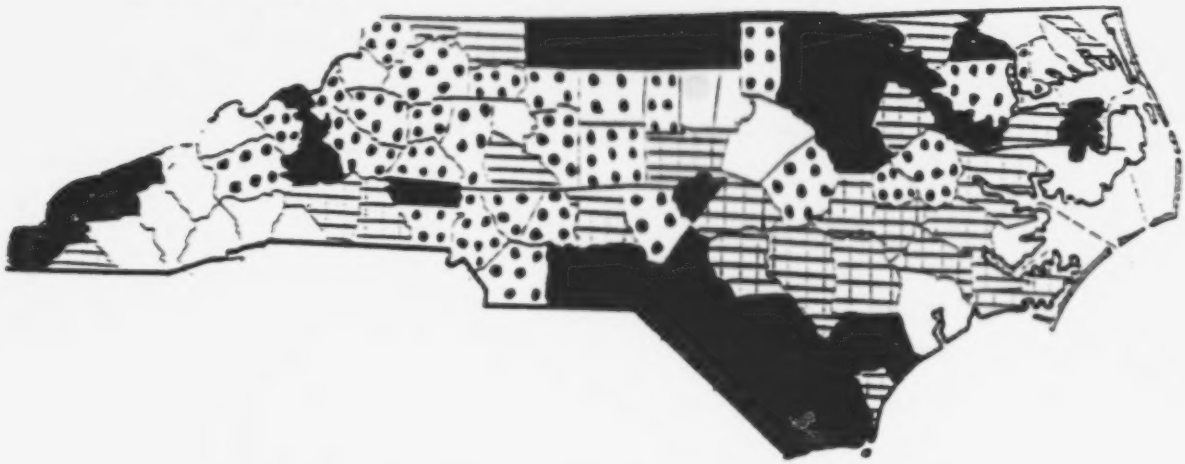


Figure 3: Unemployment Comparisons Within States

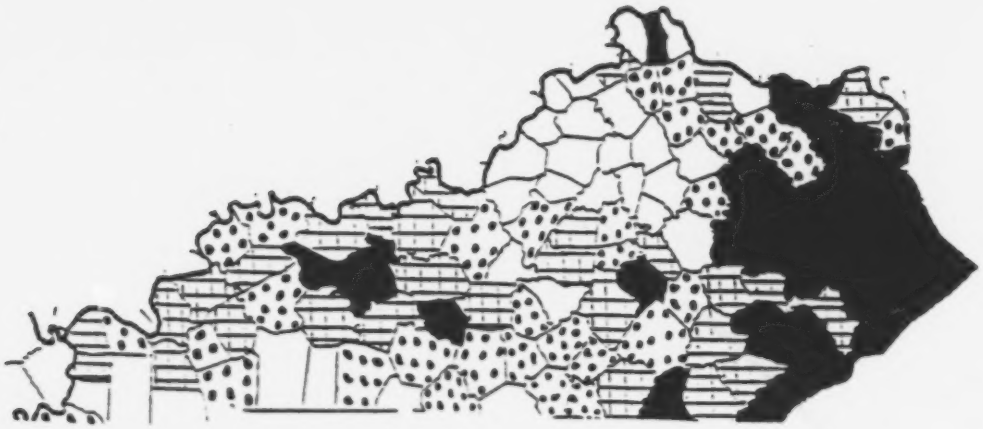
Highest unemployment rates

2nd highest

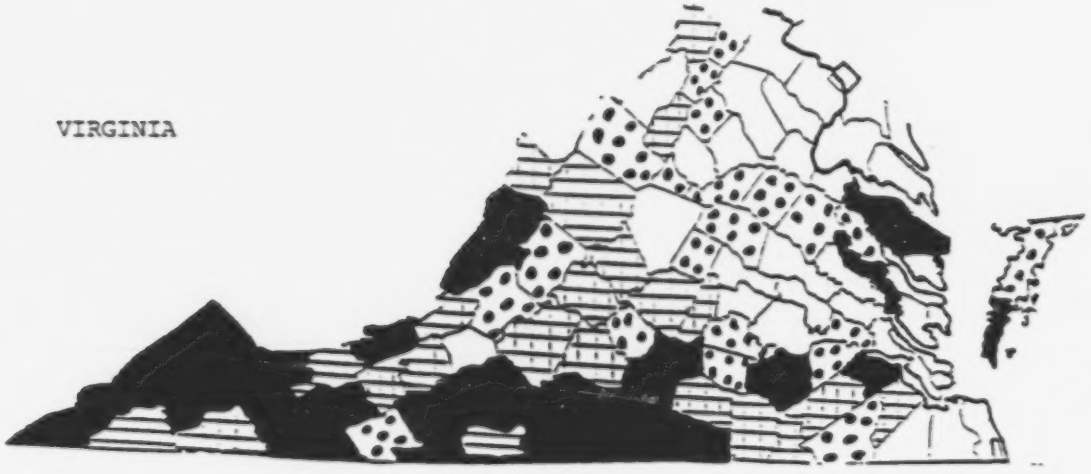
3rd highest

Lowest unemployment rates

KENTUCKY



VIRGINIA



TENNESSEE

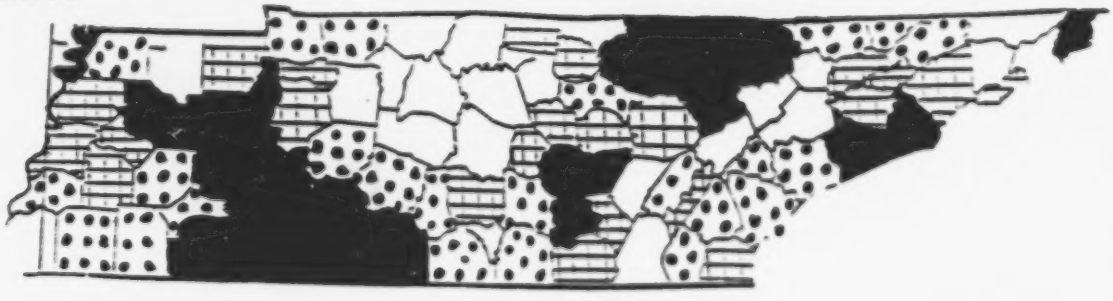
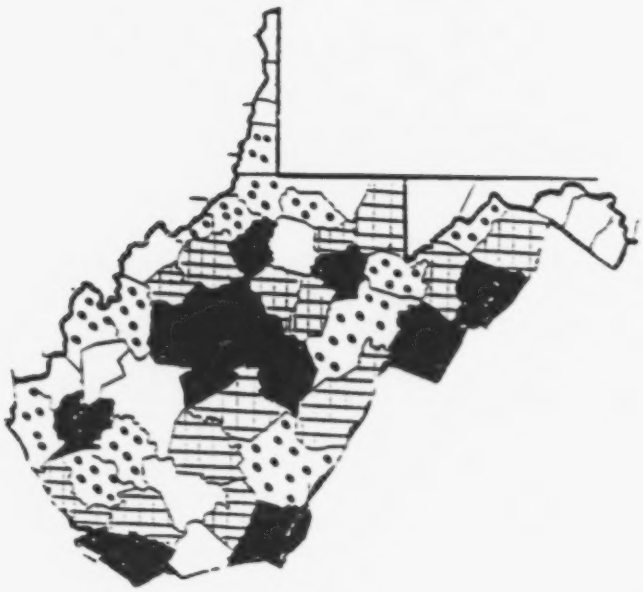


Figure 3 Continued

Source: See footnote 17.

WEST VIRGINIA



NORTH CAROLINA

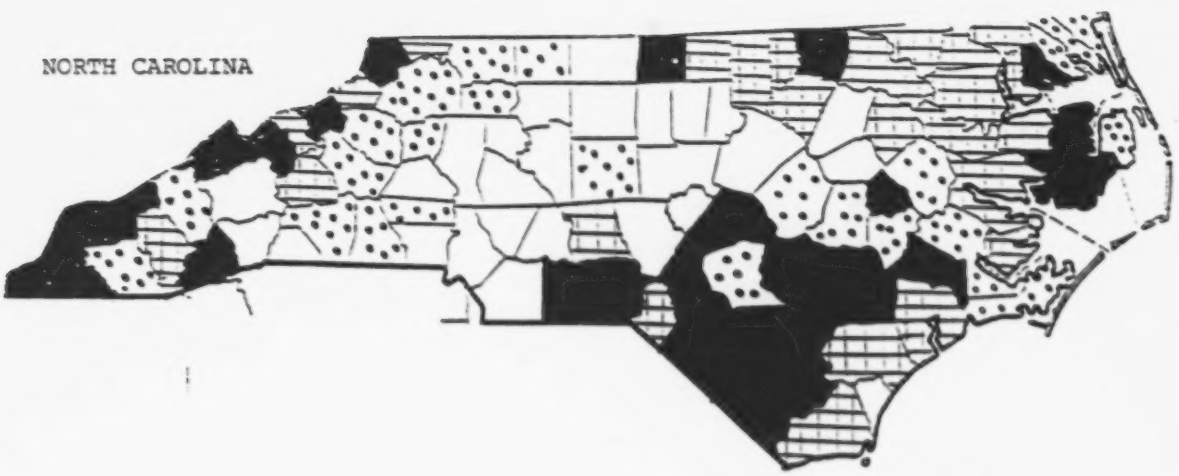


Figure 4: Per Capita Income Comparisons Within States

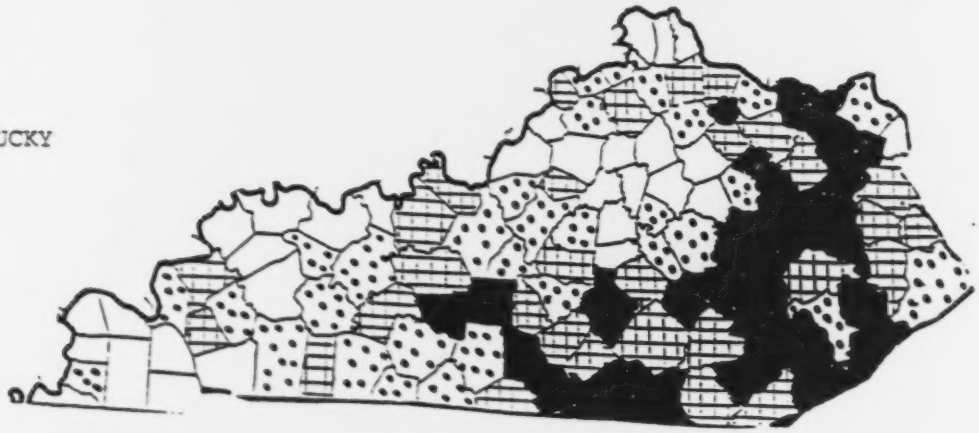
Lowest per capita income

2nd lowest

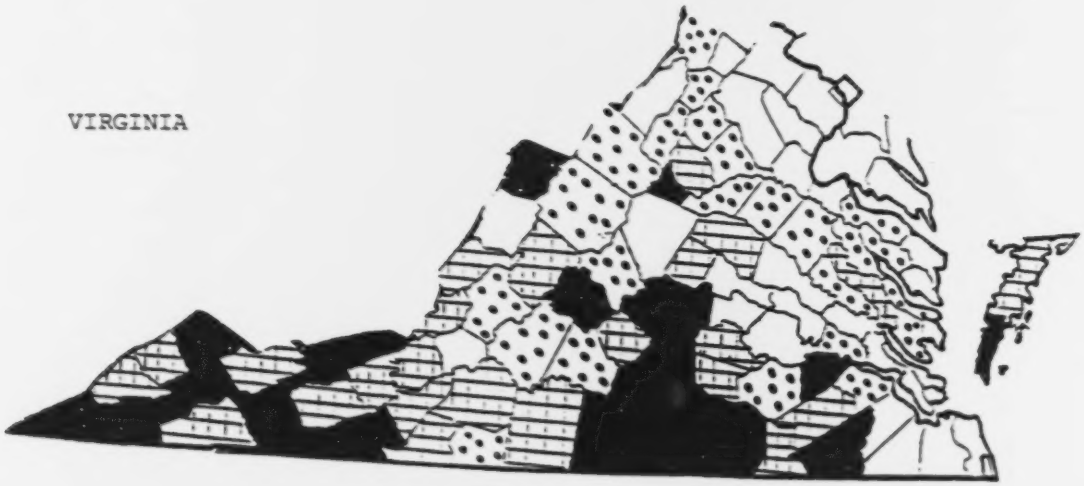
3rd lowest

Highest per capita income

KENTUCKY



VIRGINIA



TENNESSEE

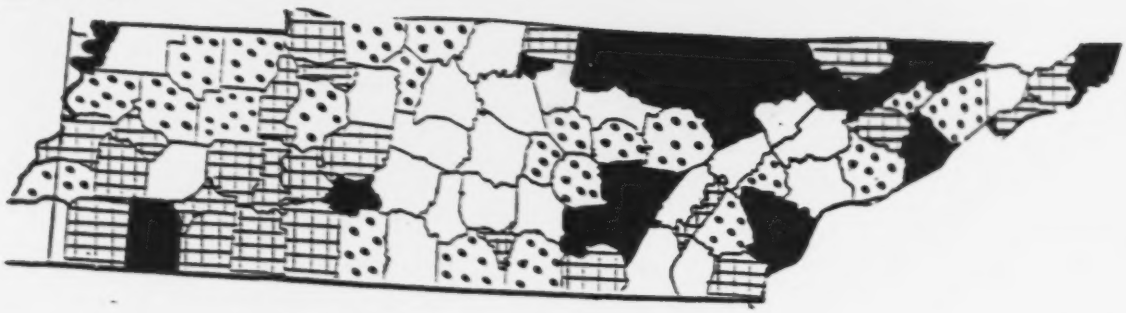
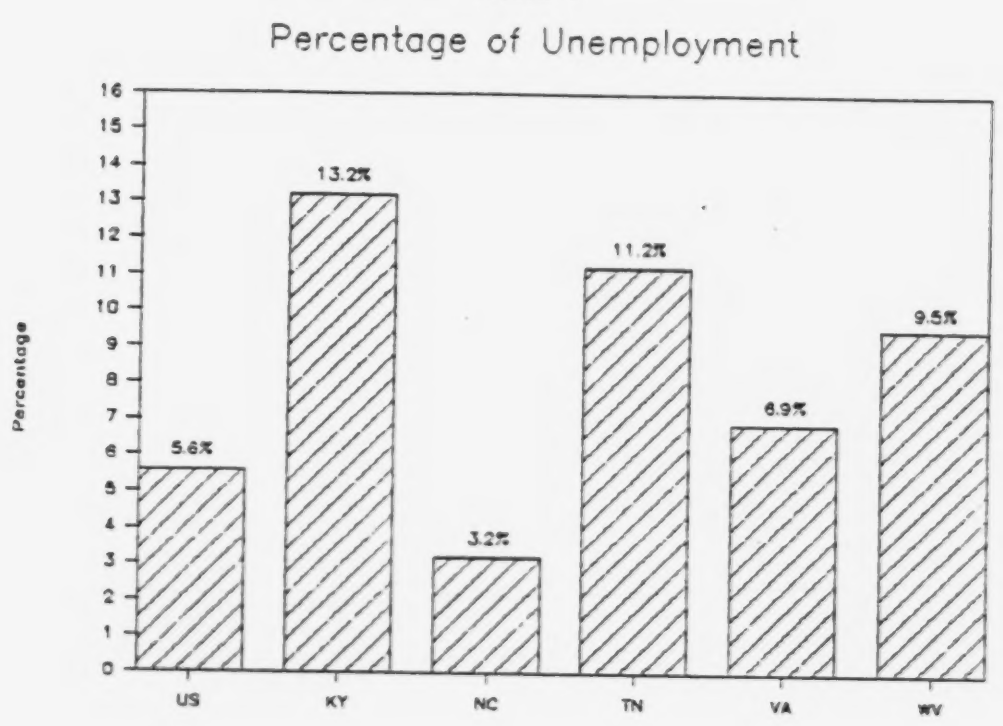


Figure 4 Continued

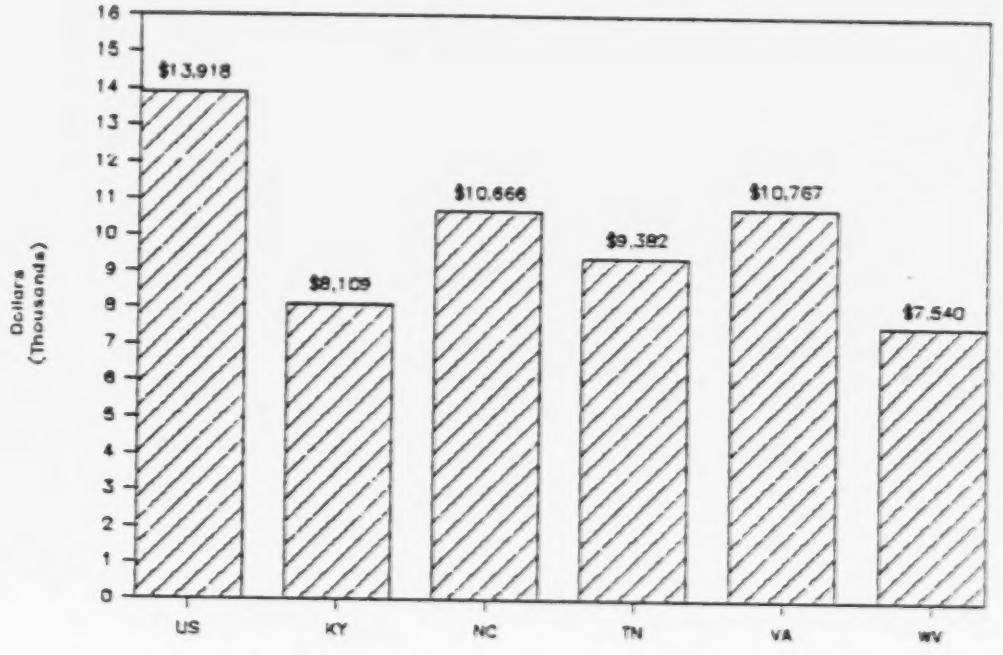
Source: See footnote 18.

FIGURE 5



Source: See footnote 17.

FIGURE 6



Source: See footnote 18.